

MOZAMBIQUE

REVOLUTION



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FRONT COVER: The President of Frelimo, Comrade Samora M. Machel, in a village in Liberated Mozambique.

EDITORIAL

The historic meeting of the FRELIMO Central Committee in July 1964 made a decision of vital importance to our people. That decision concerned the form which our struggle should assume. Basically, the option was between resorting to armed struggle for the liberation of Mozambique or continuing the path followed up until then — namely, attempted negotiations with the Portuguese government and petitions to the United Nations.

The general feeling in FRELIMO was that we should have recourse to armed struggle. In this connection, about 200 militants had already received military training in Algeria and had returned to Mozambique, where they were awaiting the instructions of our Organisation. However, the final decision was still to be made: and it was one which could not be made lightly. Because of its importance and gravity it required serious consideration and a complete analysis of the situation.

There were several problems to be taken into account. Obviously, the first one was to determine whether armed struggle was really the only way left open for us to achieve independence. After all, from a theoretical point of view it could be argued that several African colonies had achieved their independence through peaceful means — by Parliamentary, political and legal struggle. So why should not those means be valid for Mozambique?

If the decision was taken to launch armed struggle, then the problem arose as to how it was to be organised. An army was necessary along with weapons. We had about 200 trained comrades, armed with light weapons; but only a visionary could pretend that this force would have been able to defeat the powerful Portuguese army, which had stationed in Mozambique at that time, 35,000 troops equipped with the most modern war material. On our side, there was also the problem of supplies, for those 200 fighters had a limited quantity of ammunition, and it was not clear how it could be replenished in order to continue the war.

The psychological element was no less important. Having been subjected to centuries of oppression and colonialist propaganda, our people had been conditioned into harbouring a kind of religious fear of the Portuguese. The 'Mzungo' was almost a god — untouchable, invulnerable. How could we convince the population to fight against him and his repressive machine?

Furthermore, the people of Mozambique were not united. Certain ethnic divisions had their roots deep in the past, and the so-called 'tribal' consciousness had been accentuated by the Portuguese. Like all imperialists, the Portuguese had followed the policy of "divide and rule". The result was that individuals from different parts of Mozambique, speaking different languages, were suspicious of each other and sometimes quite hostile.

But perhaps the most weighty consideration in approaching the decision of armed struggle was the awareness of the sufferings war would bring our people. Would armed struggle be worth the cost? Would it be not better to continue with the known evils of exploitation and oppression so as to avoid the horrors and uncertainties of war?

The pros and cons were exhaustively weighed, and all doubts were successively eliminated. The position of the Portuguese government was clear — to all attempts at negotiation on the part of FRELIMO it reiterated that Mozambique was part of Portugal and that the Portuguese Constitution does not allow the alienation of any parcel of Portuguese territory. The Portuguese government accused us of being 'bandits', and it increased its repression. It was clear therefore that only by force would we be able to win our independence. The fact that other colonies had won their independence by peaceful means was irrelevant to our case (and to that of Angola and Guinea-Bissau), because Portugal is a fascist state and her interests determined that she retain the colonies in their classic form.

How was the armed struggle to be organised? The only way was to organise it on a popular and national basis. Thus the initial numerical disproportion of our forces relative to those of the Portuguese would gradually be reversed, as new elements of the population integrated themselves into the struggle. We gained in confidence that the problem of weapons, munitions and other supplies could be solved. Independent African countries had promised their support to the liberation struggle in no uncertain terms at the recently created Organisation of African Unity. The Socialist bloc was strong, and by the very nature of the policy of the Socialist countries their support for our struggle was assured.

The myth of the invincibility of the Portuguese was bound to be destroyed once we started the armed struggle. It was necessary that our people should see the colonialists falling

under the fire of our weapons, for then all the mental inhibitions created by previous oppression would begin to dissolve.

The suffering inherent in the war was not beyond our people's endurance. The will to be free was a guarantee of that. Colonialism and all it represented had to be eradicated from our country — whatever the cost. In making this decision, the Central Committee of FRELIMO felt certain that it was correctly interpreting the will of our people as a whole.

Thus we proclaimed that the goal of national liberation should be reached through armed struggle. What has so far been achieved confirms that we were correct in that decision and that it was the only logical decision in the concrete conditions of Mozambique. Portugal is still holding to the same arguments even today, and maintains the same intransigent position.

On our side, we have already overcome some of the difficulties we had foreseen:

- We increased our guerrilla army up to more than 10,000 fighters, appropriately armed and equipped.
- The development of the struggle itself has created the internal and external conditions for increasing the quantity and quality of our war material. We have captured a great deal from the enemy and received further supplies at the international level.
- Portuguese soldiers, the direct instruments of colonialism, are now considered by our people as true "papp tigers", and it is they who are dominated by fear and absolutely demoralised.
- The various peoples of Mozambique are being welded into a single unit — individuals of every ethnic group are working side by side at every organisational level of FRELIMO and fighting shoulder to shoulder against our common enemy.

Of course, we have had to bear certain adversities after

choosing the rough road of armed struggle. The suffering of our people has been great. Enemy bombings destroy villages, cultivated fields, livestock, etc. Besides, our organisation is still far from being perfect. Very often in the liberated areas there are shortages of essential goods, such as clothes, soap, salt etc. But the level of political understanding of our people is already so high that they accept the difficulties of the war as the price that has to be paid for independence. The fact is that for the first time we can now live in liberated regions — free from the hated presence of the 'administrator' or the "chefe de posto", free from forced labour and arbitrary arrests, free from the palmaria, torture and murder, able to choose ourselves our leaders. We have our own clinics, send our children to our own schools, and eat that which we have chosen to produce. All those things are considered by us as being sufficient compensation for hardships.

Today our confidence in the final victory is unshakeable. Our political and military strength is such that we were able to face, counter and repel 35,000 Portuguese troops sent against our liberated areas in a single operation. Those troops were supplied with 15,000 tons of military equipment, and were supported by tanks, armoured cars and squadrons of aircraft. This victory, which we won just two months ago, shows that our struggle has already reached a stage where it is impossible for the Portuguese to win a military victory.

We do not claim that victory will be immediate. We do not delude ourselves with false hopes. The enemy is strong, because it is not only Portuguese colonialism: it is the whole imperialist structure which has lost control of many African countries and wants to perpetuate its exploitation in those areas remaining under white minority domination. Our final victory is still some distance away, but the victories scored so far prove that we are on the correct path, and that we must proceed with determination in that direction. The struggle continues.

***Long live the Revolutionary
Armed struggle for National
Liberation!***

***Long live the 25th of
September, Day of the
Mozambican Revolution!***



ALGERIAN JOURNALIST WITH FRELIMO

Last June, Mr. Boubaker Adjali, journalist of the Paris based magazine "AFRICASIA", visited the liberated areas of Mozambique where he stayed for about one month. After his visit he was interviewed by a member of the FRELIMO Information Department.

Q: Mr. Adjali, what reasons led you to propose to FRELIMO that it take you to visit the liberated areas of Mozambique?

A: I am a journalist, meaning that my work makes it necessary for me to inform myself about developments of the struggle led by FRELIMO with the aim for Mozambique to reach national sovereignty—and the same applies to the movements and national liberation fronts of the other "Portuguese" colonies as well. In the first place, therefore, I have undertaken this visit to inform the readers of our magazine AFRICASIA. In addition, I, too, am African and believe in the progressive forces of our time; thus, all struggles for national liberation, any action that will improve the lot of the underprivileged masses, is my struggle, my action. Isn't it natural for a person to visit his brothers?

A third reason for my visit to Mozambique is to go and see on the spot the achievements accomplished by the Mozambican people under the leadership of FRELIMO, and also to try, with the first-hand information obtained, to make a contribution to the people of Mozambique by making known all that I have seen and experienced in the liberated areas.

There is another reason of which I myself did not think (and there may well be others): "We like to know the children of the countries that help us", a militant told me. I am the first Algerian he met. I am very happy to have "put a face" to the assistance given by the Algerian people to the people of Mozambique in supporting FRELIMO.

Q: What aspects of our politico-military work impressed you most?

A: I have been greatly impressed by the extent of political maturity, or rather by the consciousness of the masses and the enormous effort made by them to carry on with the struggle. Of course I visited the liberated areas only, so what I can speak of is—the political work among the masses, organization of the economy, and of the defence of the liberated areas.

As regards the first point, although illiteracy is raging among the adult population, and although the population finds itself cut off from the world, the economic situation does not permit them to enter into what some people have called the revolution of the transistor. In spite of this, the population is informed about the struggles of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Palestine, Angola, Guinea, Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa—as they believe that their own struggle is also widely known. Considering the absence of a medium of information, this shows the extent of the political work conducted by FRELIMO cadres at all levels of the population. I give you an example of this consciousness: at the time the American base at Wheelus was evacuated, a young man came to ask me if that base was the last foreign base in Africa. After I had enumerated to him all existing bases, he replied that the struggle is not yet finished but that it must be intensified.

On the second point I will not say much, although I must point to the seriousness and determination with which the people are reconstructing their economy. I was happy to eat the rice "guerrillero", produced in the liberated areas. The people, though they are lacking clothes, absolutely do not lack basic foodstuffs. On the contrary, production has grown to such an extent that they are even conducting their own agricultural experiments.

With regard to the third point, it impressed me very much to see that the people were armed, and that it was very difficult to make a distinction between civilians and military, as the popular militia indeed proved to be the population at large, all inhabitants of the liberated areas: men, women, children. I should like to see such militia in all African countries! The experience in Mozambique is proof of the indissoluble and very strong ties between the party and the masses.

Q: Enemies of FRELIMO have made serious accusations against our organisation, accusing us of tribalism, regionalism, militarism and other things. They also

accused us of murdering people in the interior. Now, you have just returned from Mozambique, and you know our principles and our organization. Do you consider it possible in the framework of our principles and our structure that things like political murders could occur? Or tribalism, regionalism, etc.?

A: As concerns tribalism and regionalism, I think that those who accuse FRELIMO of making politics of tribalism and regionalism must be out of their minds. I met Mwani people who are leaders in the Makua region, Makonde people as leaders in the regions of different tribes, Xanganas who are simple soldiers among the people of the North — in short, I met Mozambicans in Mozambique. On the question of militarism, I do not think there is danger that FRELIMO will drift into this illness which befell several liberation movements around the world — for the simple reason that the people, who are an organized militia, will not permit it. Furthermore, I think that the political direction taken is about to establish an ideology which will not allow for militarism to exist. On that point I am more than confident.

Does FRELIMO kill people in the interior? I do not know; however, one thing is certain: I had learnt about the death of an ex-leader of FRELIMO. He had been "liquidated" in connection with the events of last year. I met him quite alive at the training camp in Beira. I am speaking of Mr. Morruba whom I have known for two years. This should be proof that FRELIMO does not follow a policy of "liquidating" those of its members who commit a fault, but relies on a principle that is as humane as it is revolutionary in helping its erring members to take up the fight again after having clarified their positions and accepted the directions and wishes of the majority.

Q: The tone of the articles that have appeared in many Western newspapers lately tend to create the impression that FRELIMO is in a crisis, that the struggle has stopped or at least that its rhythm has slowed down, and that there are serious divisions that threaten to destroy the organisation. What are your comments about this?

A: It is not the first time that the bourgeois press of Europe and her colonies has tried to discredit a liberation movement — this should actually be an encouragement. I should be concerned about FRELIMO if that press started to congratulate FRELIMO on its successes. For if your enemy applauds you, then you must have made an error somewhere. According to what I have seen — and I repeat: I have not seen everything —, FRELIMO is not in a crisis and its struggle is not stagnating. Nor have I seen among those who fight and among the population of the liberated zones the least sign of fatigue or division.

Q: Your visit occurred at a time when the Portuguese announced to the whole world that they had launched a great offensive against the FRELIMO forces and that they had regained control over the FRELIMO zones. According to what you saw, what in fact did that offensive mean and what change did take place in the balance of forces?

A: I had the unpleasant surprise as I listened to the news on the radio one day to learn that the base of Limpopo, together with two others, namely Kissanga and Beira, have

been destroyed — unpleasant because at that moment I happened to be at Limpopo, but did not participate in any battle or see any bombs explode, and neither did I see far or near a Portuguese soldier. To be sure, it was about two or three days earlier that I heard aeroplanes passing and bombs exploding, but far away, and therefore I was not in a position to record an eye-witness account on the "Destruction of Kissanga", where the night before I had shared in a meal with the civilian population; neither in Limpopo where I took my first hot bath since entering Mozambican territory; nor finally on Beira which I visited two days later. They are engaging in wishful thinking, the Portuguese.

On July 5th, when I prepared myself to leave the liberated territories, a group of FRELIMO fighters attacked Portuguese soldiers who had stayed put at the spot where they had been parachuted some time before — "in honour of Algeria's independence", remarked a former member of the colonialist army who had joined his Mozambican brothers. A little while later I passed this "famous" road which the Portuguese claim to have under control. The time was 2 p.m. and there was not the slightest noise, neither a tank to be seen or any other vehicle — nor a Portuguese soldier.



THE

ROME

CONFERENCE



From June 27th to 29th more than 350 delegates representing 177 organizations from 64 countries met in Rome with the purpose of studying ways and means to isolate even more Portuguese colonialism, and how to intensify the support to the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

The ambassador of Portugal in Rome as well as the ambassadors of other imperialist countries tried to persuade the Italian Government to prohibit the realization of the Conference. But the great popular wave of sympathy for our peoples prevailing in Italy led to the extending of permission by the Italian Government to allow the conference to take place.

The simple fact that the Conference took place in Rome, capital of a member country of NATO, of a country who furnished to the Portuguese colonialists jet-fighters, was a big diplomatic defeat for Portugal, and a great political defeat for imperialism and NATO which saw their crimes publicly denounced. But even more important, and a clear indication of the great success of the Conference, was the importance and quality of the participants and the contents of the decisions taken. Besides the delegations of FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC and of the Council of Direction of CONCP, the Conference had the participation of the OAU, which was represented by a delegation

of the General Secretariat and another of the Liberation Committee.

Participating in the Conference were also the OSPAA (Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa and Asia) and the World Council of Peace—which were part of the Organising Committee of the Conference—as well as a delegation of the United Nations and of the Tricontinental Organization.

All our comrades in the struggle were present: ANC from South Africa, ZAPU from Zimbabwe, SWAPO from Namibia, FNL from South Vietnam, Neo Lao Haksat from Laos, the National United Front of Cambodia, the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine, the Anti-Imperialist Fighters of Brazil and of other countries in Latin America, from the USA, and the Anti-Fascist Militants from Spain and from Greece. On our side there were also representatives of the FPLN (Frente Patriótica de Libertacao Nacional), of the Communist Party and other democrats who in Portugal fight against the colonial war and fascism.

The African countries sent many delegations representing their parties and governments. Many of them were led by ministers or high officials of political organizations.

Many heads of State and high-ranking personalities from

Africa sent warm messages of support. Among them were: Presidents Nasser of the UAR, Khedafi of Libya, Ould Daddah of Mauritania, Francisco Macias of Equatorial Guinea, Marion Ngouabi of the People's Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), Micombero of Burundi; Vice-President Awadallah of Sudan, Kaid Ahmed of Algeria, Dr. Mohamed Fayek, Minister of State for External Affairs of the UAR, Daouda Badarou, Minister of External Affairs of Dahomey.

Non-African heads of State and heads of Government also expressed their warm greetings to the Conference: Prince Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia; the Presidents of Syria and Iraq; Prime Minister Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; Madame Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon; President Nguyen Hu Thu of the FNL of South Vietnam. The socialist countries of Europe, Korea and Cuba also sent delegations to testify once more their solidarity with our struggle.

From all of Western Europe many delegations came, led by personalities representing political parties, trade unions, religious organizations, youth movements, women's organizations, students' organizations and cultural groups. Also present were several other international organizations: the World Council of Churches, the International Association of Democratic Jurists, the World Trade Union Federation, the International Federation of Democratic Women, the Federation of African Women, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Pan-African Youth Movement, the International Union of Students, and others. At the Conference were represented different social, political and religious tendencies, expressing one and the same wish of freedom.

Through its wide participation, the Rome Conference showed that the struggle against Portuguese colonialism is a cause which mobilizes all honest men, all men opposed to slavery.

The Conference proved further that the progress of our struggle has become known and is recognized in the whole world. The peoples of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde and Mozambique are not alone, the whole humanity is on their side. This was borne out in each of the speeches, each message, each word that was spoken during this Conference. And this was also shown in a moving way by the World Council of Peace in decorating FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC with the golden medal George Lambrakis, as well as by the National Association of the Italian Partisans who presented their flag to each of our organizations.

The reports of the three commissions of the Conference (Political, Juridical, and Commission on Material Aid) as well as the general declaration, which express the unanimous opinion of all participants, stress the following main points:

- that Portuguese colonialism is a barbaric and retrogressive force imposed on us through brutality and aggression;
- that NATO, the United States of America, Federal Germany, Great Britain and France through their economic, political and military support to Portugal, enable this backward, underdeveloped country to launch aggressive wars against three peoples;

- that the colonial and racist alliance of Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury is aimed at serving imperialism and at oppressing and assailing our peoples;
 - that the activities of the imperialist financial groups exploit the riches and the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, and in order to maintain their hated domination, support the colonialists and prepare new criminal plans to prevent the defeat of Portugal;
- The Conference through the reports further confirmed—
- total support to FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC, which are the representatives and the leading organizations of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde;
 - the recognition of the state powers and sovereignty effectively exercised by FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC in vast regions of our countries;
 - the need to intensify information on our struggle, in order to better mobilize the European democratic masses for the struggle against Portuguese colonialism;
 - the duty of all peoples, of all governments, and of all democratic and progressive organizations in the world to organise and develop material support to the armed liberation struggle and to the activities of national reconstruction in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea.

The Rome Conference constituted therefore an important manifestation of international solidarity with the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea and with their respective organizations—FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC. It proves that the peoples in the world have reached a high level of consciousness of their common interests in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. It shows that the objective interests which link the peoples fighting for independence, the Western peoples opposing capitalist oppression and the peoples of the socialist countries, are already understood by everybody.

Therefore, the solidarity expressed at and through the Rome Conference is a clear and concrete answer of our time to the policy of domination and exploitation which the alliance Portugal/South Africa/Rhodesia is undertaking with the massive support of the Western powers, in particular the NATO countries and Japan.

This also means that the internationalization of colonial aggression must be opposed with internationalized anti-colonial and anti-imperialist action. The common action of the nationalist movements of the Portuguese colonies and of the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist world forces is therefore the one force which will be able to bring the support that Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia continue to receive from the Western powers to a halt. It is this force in particular which will be able to prevent those powers from engaging in the way of direct military intervention against the peoples of the Portuguese colonies in order to prevent the political and military defeat of Portugal.

Thus, the Rome Conference opened new and vast perspectives for the victorious development of the revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde, and constituted an important contribution for the consolidation of the solidarity and friendship among the peoples of the whole world who are engaged in the struggle against oppression, for the general progress of humanity.

DECLARATION OF THE ROME CONFERENCE

One of the essential characteristics of the history of our times is the vigorous development of national liberation struggles which has been transformed for many countries into independence and the regaining of dignity for hundred of millions of men and women in Africa and elsewhere.

Portuguese colonialism, which refuses decolonisation and conducts genocidal wars against the people of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, is manifestly a crime against humanity. To dominate and exploit the peoples and riches of Angola, Guinea and the Cape Verde, Mozambique and Sao Tome, it has resorted more than anything else to repressive actions.

It has instituted forced labour, the export of workers who are not given any choice, a system of obligatory cultivation of certain crops solely for its own profit and that of the companies.

Every time the peoples attempted to express, even by peaceful means, their rejection of the brutal exploitation which was enslaving them, the Portuguese colonialists in cold blood resorted to massacres.

That is why in fully assuming their national and historic responsibilities FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC led their peoples along the only road which could bring them freedom and independence: armed national liberation struggle. In developing the popular fight towards victory, in identifying themselves with the interests of their peoples, FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC are confirmed as the true representatives of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea and Cape Verde. Their activities can be seen in the destruction of the structures of domination, new and traditional, and in the establishment of a new and popular social order.

In order to oppose this situation the colonialists of Lisbon are facilitating penetration of powerful economic interests of imperialist powers to ensure that these interests should consider their fate as linked to that of Portuguese domination. They become defenders of the cause of Portugal's colonialism expressing themselves through the policies of their governments, and thus create conditions for an increasing internationalisation of the confrontation.

The direct and massive aid from NATO—not to speak of the military and economic support Lisbon receives from the governments of the United States, West Germany, Britain and France—is a decisive factor in Portugal's ability to continue her colonial wars. The governments of member states of NATO must dissociate themselves from this crime, isolating Portugal at both political and military levels and firmly condemning this colonial war. It must also be underlined that Portugal's grand design is strengthened by the racist and colonial alliance between Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

In spite of the assistance and the collaboration which she enjoys, Portugal cannot control the situation so that her allies have been led to consider direct military intervention which has already materialised in Angola and Mozambique. The struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese

colonies becomes in this context a vital contribution to the cause of freedom in Africa, and to the cause that applies to all humanity—national independence and human dignity.

At the same time, the activities of democratic and progressive forces towards these objectives, and in particular the development of the anti-colonialist movement in Portugal and the other liberation struggles in Africa and throughout the world, are an important and necessary factor for the cause of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. On this we must state that the successes already won by the peoples of Angola, Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands and Mozambique, while being the result of the efforts and sacrifices of these peoples in their struggle, are also owed to the active solidarity of the independent countries of Africa, the Socialist countries, of the non-aligned countries and of democratic and progressive forces throughout the world.

For the first time delegates from 64 countries, representing 177 national and international organisations, have met in Europe to study and decide upon ways of developing political, moral and material solidarity with the struggling peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

This solidarity must be translated into urgent and immediate actions, the nature of which will be decided by the evolution of the situation in each country and taking into consideration their specific conditions. They must first be concerned with forcing Portugal to grant immediate and total independence to these peoples, who already have sovereignty over large areas of territory administered in Angola by the MPLA, in Guinea by the PAIGC and in Mozambique by FRELIMO.

To achieve this, we must increase the isolation of the Portuguese colonialists by exposing the massive support they receive from the NATO Alliance in general, and in particular from the United States, West Germany, Britain and France. This must also be undertaken with regard to all the national and international economical and financial institutions that provide Portugal with the necessary means for continuing her aggression.

We must also, especially through mass popular action, prevent the countries linked with colonialist Portugal from committing themselves to a new phase of armed intervention to replace the failure of their political and military strategies.

Finally, our activities must concretely support the efforts towards liberation and national reconstruction made by FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC, whom the Conference considers as holding effective power in their countries, on the basis of the law of their peoples. This new legal situation must be recognised internationally.

In this tenth anniversary year of the United Nations Declaration on the right to independence of the colonial peoples, and on the threshold of the tenth anniversary of the launching of the armed national liberation struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, the Rome Conference reaffirms its solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands and Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe, and calls on all countries, governments, national and international organisations, and to all men of good will, to accomplish these inspiring tasks.



WAR REVIEW

The Portuguese appear to have some difficulty in deciding on a consistent approach to their problems in Mozambique. Only a little over 18 months ago the Governor General told the Legislative Assembly that in Cabo Delgado and Niassa districts guerrilla infiltration had been "progressively eliminated". Later at the opening session of the Governing Council he said that the situation in Cabo Delgado and Tete was "gradually returning to normal." Yet only a year later they felt compelled to launch the largest offensive they have ever undertaken since the start of the war six years ago. It seems that they try to compensate for what they cannot achieve militarily by interminable propaganda about the end of the war being in a sight.

In fact, however, our military reports indicate exactly the opposite. A comparison between our activities in the twelve month period July 1968-June 1969 and the following year July 1969-June 1970 is surely overwhelming proof that our forces are progressing from strength to strength.

July 1968—June 1969

	Ambushes/ Mining	Assaults	Enemy killed	Vehicles Destroyed	Aircraft shot down
Cabo Delgado	54	7	234	37	—
Tete	53	10	131	62	—
Niassa	50	11	160	25	—

July 1969—June 1970

	Ambushes/ Mining	Assaults	Enemy killed	Vehicles Destroyed	Aircraft shot down
Cabo Delgado	195	24	690	121	4
Tete	119	22	612	118	2
Niassa	143	18	553	72	1

Apart from this increase in the scale of our operations, there have been no spectacular changes in our strategy or programmes. The last military review a year ago traced the gradual evolution of the struggle through the early days of isolated mines and sabotage, then more and more ambushes and regular attacks against fortified posts culminating in highly organized offensives using all these tactics to their best advantage. This we continue to do.

Our fighters are concentrating on intensifying their activities in the areas where they are currently operating and firmly consolidating their position. The enemy continues to hold out in isolated encampments with their land communications severed. Our people characterise our military situation and define our strategy by referring to the African saying: "To kill a snake in a hole, don't put your hand inside it; pour in hot water and the snake will come out—then kill it". The Portuguese are isolated in their posts, their "holes". We create conditions that force them out—but cutting their communications and hence their supplies, and by constant harassment. Once they are out, more



vulnerable, then we attack. This is well illustrated by the history of the Miteda-Sagal road in Cabo-Delgado.

To go back just twelve months, in May 1969 four lorries heading for Mueda hit our mines and were blown up, putting 16 enemy soldiers out of action. The following January we blew up more convoys, on the 7th and 22nd, and in February the post of Miteda itself was bombed. In May the enemy made a concerted effort to reopen the road, but our mines again destroyed two vehicles, one on the 2nd and another on the 18th, killing seven soldiers. Three days later they tried again—this time with a tractor in front—but again it was destroyed together with a lorry and they were forced to return to Mueda yet again. On June 1st they sent out yet another convoy, this time preceded by a group on foot to detect our mines. But when they found one and started to defuse it, it exploded killing three of them. The remainder of the squad refused to continue and everyone returned to Mueda. Three days later our fighters ambushed a group of Portuguese soldiers near Miteda, killing six, and two days after that a further convoy that tried to get through was ambushed. Two vehicles were damaged, a number of soldiers killed, and the others forced to retreat. It is a similar story on other main roads—Muidumbe-Nangololo eleven times, Mueda-Sagal fourteen times, both in a little over twelve months; Diaca-Sagal fifteen times in six months.

One of the best illustrations of the growth of our various offensives is that being followed in Tete province, with the aim of preventing the construction of the Cahora Bassa dam. The front was not reopened until March 1968, but within five months two bombers and a helicopter had been shot down. During the ten months of that year reports were received of 23 operations, including attacks against two bases. In the following year, reports were received of 54 sabotage operations including six attacks against posts and camps. In the six months until June 1970 there were 94 sabotage actions, ambushes and assaults—the latter against the camps of Camukhumula, Kawaza,

Chitsera, and the posts of Phewa, Chitiri, Mpata, Kanhende, Chiremba, Kansombo, Intawa, Manjanja, Anithusa, and Oliveira. Two reconnaissance planes were shot down.

The isolation, both in terms of the physical aspects of the war terrain and of the freedom of movement, coupled with the insecurity of never knowing when or from where the next attack will take place, has very adverse effects on the morale of the Portuguese troops, particularly the conscripted men who form the vast majority. Our forces have always been aware of this fact, both from their conversations with prisoners and deserters and from their observation of the enemy in action. Although vehemently denied by the Portuguese, this has been confirmed yet again by our recent capture of many personal letters written by Portuguese soldiers, some of which are shown here with translations. They hardly convey the impression of loyal patriots convinced they are defending their mother country.

These letters are just one of the many varied kinds of items that our forces are now capturing. At one time, it was only assaults against posts that produced ammunition, weapons, etc., but with the growing skill and experience of our fighters, ambushes and even mining operations are proving useful sources of equipment. Naturally these are not in such large amounts as when the store of a post is raided; they are important nevertheless, for each captured rifle means that one more militant can take up the offensive. As one of our fighters says:

If you are ready in combat
the best thing to do
is to camouflage yourself and be patient
better to kill one enemy
and capture his weapons
than to kill thirty quickly
and leave their weapons behind.

(*Recomendacao ao Guerrilheiro*
by Assikulava).

This marked escalation in our activities over the last 12 to 18 months, despite many problems, could not have been achieved without the full participation of the civilian population. Over the past months the level of political consciousness of the people has grown remarkably, as a result of the intensive mobilisation and education by our political commissars. Previously, the major participation of the populations in the struggle was limited to the defence of their zones, the transportation of material, the supply of food to the military bases and the provision of information on the movements of the enemy. Today the people also participate actively in the offensive activities, with militias fighting side by side with guerrillas. All the problems of the development of the struggle are discussed together by both groups and at the same time the guerrillas participate actively in the tasks of national reconstruction. The distinction between civilian and military becomes less and less discernible—participation in the struggle becomes global, and the enemy more isolated.

And the enemy is well aware of this. It was already mentioned in our last report how the Portuguese were now acknowledging that "control of the people" was the crucial factor in the battle, and had begun various measures of "psychological warfare" to win over the local population by inculcating in them an appreciation of Portuguese values and way of life. The Portuguese are now seeking to increasingly involve the African populations in both defence and development—by attempting to establish garrisons of locally recruited troops and by speeding up various development programmes, of which their various settlement schemes are an integral part.

Following the American and British examples of using "strategic villages" to better control the activities of the local population, Portugal has been spending vast sums of money (reportedly \$2.5 million in 1968) on the establishment of these "strategic villages" (aldeamentos). These are of three kinds. The first are regarded as the "front line of defence" and are surrounded by barbed wire and other means of protection. The second type, considered to be of strategic and economic value, is located further away in carefully selected areas, but not intended for permanent settlement (an open acknowledgement that this is a desperate stop-gap measure as they could never exist permanently in this area any way). The third type, outside the contested areas, are built as permanent settlements to halt our advance. During October 1969 the "Noticias" of Lourenco Marques published a series of articles on the new aldeamentos. It described one, Marere in Cabo Delgado, as being under 24-hour vigil from all sides, with sentinels posted openly or in trenches and defended by the army, the militia, the Public Security Police (PSP) and the Fiscal Guard. It is a significant indication of life in these settlements that more and more people are fleeing from them into the liberated zones.

The reason for this seems to be that the Portuguese are caught in an insoluble dilemma. They have observed from the experiences of FRELIMO that with the support of the people anything can be achieved, even against overwhelming odds. They therefore try to seduce the populations with their "development programmes", not realizing that this will achieve nothing as they will not give the one thing the people really want—their freedom. Moreover, any

positive effects that these measures might have are far outweighed by the necessity to resort to more and more repressive actions in order to stay in control.

A recent UN report based on studies by an Ad Hoc Working Group of experts established by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights* states that:

"Evidence as a whole revealed that with the intensification of guerrilla activities, the Portuguese military and police are indiscriminate in their methods of capture and more often than not of innocent men, women and children who are herded into concentration camps there to suffer beatings and humiliations. A witness likened the treatment of African prisoners to 'tortures reminiscent of Nazi heydays.'"

"Portuguese reprisals, in the form of taking hostages, following a scorched earth policy, massive and continuous aerial bombardments and indiscriminate killing, are a normal feature of the war in the three Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)."

"The general pattern of evidence reveals severe conditions of torture by the use of such instruments as 'palmatoria'—a flail or paddle which inflicts severe pain on hands and feet—electric shock appliances and outright beatings. Inflicting torture is one of the most common features in the Portuguese territories applied by police, prison and military authorities."



There has been a marked increase in the activities of the dreaded PSP and PIDE (now renamed Directorate General of Security) in Mozambique. In December 1968 the Director-General of PIDE visited the territory and in the same month the number of PIDE personnel was increased by almost 40% from 475 to 662. A more recent indication of this trend is the 1969 military budget which increased the PIDE allocation by 20% and that of public security by 24%. There was also a 24% increase for prisons: the prison population in Mozambique exceeds 250,000. Official Portuguese figures for 1968 show that a total of 13,549 Africans were arrested by the PSP during the year, 5,715 of them for "crimes against public peace and order." 182 were handed over to PIDE. According to a report in "Le Monde" in November 1969, some 3,000 Africans are being detained without court action in the prisons of Machava and Mabalane for having refused to denounce members of FRELIMO.

The UN report, mentioned previously, describes how a man can be kept in prison indefinitely on the pretext that he is a danger to society, and that the judiciary is completely subordinate to the political police with its decisions being a foregone conclusion. "The PIDE, the secret police, which controls the destinies of all Africans, exploit their prerogative to detain anyone in prison for six months without charge or trial, by releasing him after that period and rearresting him as soon as he steps outside the prison gates. There is no record of a judge going against the decisions of PIDE. Soldiers are vested with the authority to deal summarily with prisoners, by shooting them on the spot. Summary arrests are often made as reprisals following guerrilla activities in the area." It goes on to describe prison conditions where 400 Africans are crowded into dormitories built to accommodate 150; 10-15 prisoners placed in 8 ft. x 10 ft. cells with no beds or sanitary facilities, no medical care, and food unfit for human consumption.

By far the most important means of control and repression in the colonies is the armed forces themselves, who now number more than 60,000 in Mozambique. Over the past 18 months there has been considerable reorganization of the military to cope with the deteriorating position overseas. The Portuguese Ministries of the Army and Defence were merged in order to effect closer integration of military and logistic operations. Parallel measures in the colonies were intended to deal more efficiently with "subversion" by bringing about a closer collaboration between military commanders and administrative authorities. Changes in regulations governing military service have become a regular feature of the Portuguese scene as the manpower demands of the wars continue to rise. Latest amendments in September 1969 and February 1970 concerned compulsory extensions of service for people not serving overseas, the recall of certain officers in the reserve and certain classes of demobilized troops, provision for the recall of officers of certain classes, and the annual training of reserves. In Portugal's budget for 1970, 17,846.6 million escudos of the total expenditure will be for ordinary government expenses and 10,947.7 million escudos for extraordinary expenses, the latter including 6,350 million escudos for national defence and security (compared with 4,372.3 million for the development plan). In addition, Mozambique's own budget estimates include 9,332.1 million escudos for military expenditure and 364.9 million



escudos for the navy, PSP, PIDE, Voluntary Corps and public security.

All these measures hardly conform with official statements about guerrillas being "progressively eliminated", but then neither does the latest huge offensive mounted by the Portuguese in Mozambique.

Operation Gordian Knot

Beginning in May 1970, the Portuguese began a huge offensive against FRELIMO forces, designed to "put an end to the war once and for all." Events in the previous few months had led it to be expected. In January the arrival of two ships in the same month with a total of 3,000 new troops was an early sign that a major effort was about to take place. In addition, the civilian Governor-General was replaced by a military man, major-engineer Arantes e Oliveira, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces was replaced by Portugal's "top expert" in guerrilla warfare, General Kaulza de Arriaga. He was previously one of the advisers of the Portuguese Military General Staff and was one of the founders of the colonial regime. Soon after his appointment, the General paid a visit to the USA where he had lengthy talks with General Westmoreland on the American tactics used in South Vietnam. He then arrived in Mozambique to put into practice his new-found knowledge, announcing that "in a few weeks FRELIMO forces will have been liquidated."

According to the communique issued by the Portuguese High Command, they deployed in this offensive 35,000 troops supplied with 15,000 tons of military equipment.

In addition to the regular troops they used a special corps rather like the marines, called "special hunters" (cacadores especiais) and also commandos. Much new war material was brought in—such as jets (which were being used in Tete and Niassa but which appeared for the first time in Cabo Delgado on 20th May 1970), and increased number of bombers and helicopters, armoured cars and anti-mine cars. For the two weeks following May 20th, the Portuguese carried out daily bombing raids with squadrons of 16-20 planes, including jets, bombers, reconnaissance planes, propaganda planes (equipped with loud speakers) and helicopters. They then attempted to attack three of our bases with air-lifted and artillery forces, but all they succeeded in doing was to burn a few huts—the bases had already been moved elsewhere some time previously; the nature of our war determines that we do not have fixed bases. Yet despite this they issued almost daily communiqués about the destruction of "dozens" of FRELIMO bases, the capture of "many tons" of equipment, death of "hundreds of terrorists". In fact they did not cause us any serious losses, either in men or material, nor did the offensive in any way affect our control over the area.

For their part, however, the Portuguese have admitted to losing 211 men in the period May, June and July which, based on our past experience with their communiqués, is probably only about 10% of their real losses. (For example, soldiers killed as a result of our mining sabotage operations are never counted as military casualties. Their death is attributed to a 'car accident').

Our combatants shot down one jet fighter (Fiat G-91), two helicopters and two reconnaissance planes. We sabotaged one train and destroyed dozens of military vehicles. Almost all of the Portuguese contingents have been repelled, and our position in the liberated areas remains unchanged, our advance to new zones proceeds.

The reasons for these new drastic measures on the part

of the Portuguese are not hard to unearth. International support for our liberation struggle is growing fast, fostered by our military achievements and our advance on all fronts. In June the first International Solidarity Conference in Europe took place in Rome. Possible foreign investors in Mozambique are beginning to have second thoughts as to the "stability" of the country, various pressures are being brought to bear on firms contemplating an involvement in the Portuguese colonies—particularly the Cahora Bassa project. (Oliveira's previous position was Director of Planning, which means he was one of the forces behind this whole project). The outside world sees journalists travelling freely through the liberated areas. The time had therefore come for a show of force on the part of the Portuguese Government, to demonstrate that it was still in full control. Unfortunately for them, however, something went terribly wrong with this "show of Force". . . .

This offensive was extremely important to FRELIMO, but not in the way the Portuguese anticipated. It was important because it constituted the first real test for us, and we were able to face up to that test. It revealed the level of development of our struggle, how solid our organization is, how high is the fighting spirit of our fighters and our people. The fact that we were able to confront victoriously, in one operation, 35,000 Portuguese soldiers (more than half the Portuguese army in Mozambique) equipped with the most modern weapons and with the constant support of a strong air force, demonstrates that our struggle has reached a stage where it can no longer be defeated, that our people are absolutely determined to defend at all costs our revolutionary achievements and march on to new fronts. What was wrong with the Portuguese "show of force" was that it completely ignored the determination of our people, our determination to be free.

Our struggle will continue until victory is achieved.



REPORT OF AN AMBUSH



On the 21st of May, 1970, our base received information from the people of the region of Mueda that an enemy convoy would leave the post of Mueda on the 24th of May towards Mocimboa da Praia to fetch foodstuffs. The chief of the base organised a group of comrades for an ambush on that road, Mueda-Mocimboa da Praia. The orders were strict: the road should be controlled day and night until the enemy appeared. I was in the group chosen for the operation. We left on the 22nd of May. When we arrived near the road, the chief of our group sent a reconnaissance unit ahead to explore the terrain in order to find out the most appropriate place for the ambush. When the place was chosen in the zone between Mueda and Namau we prepared ourselves for the ambush. Our sabotage group went to place mines further down the road in the direction to where the convoy intended to travel, and returned. The enemy did not appear on the day we had been told, only the following day he came. Early in the morning we heard the noise of the lorries coming from Mueda. Immediately we made the last preparations, each of us camouflaging himself and preparing his weapons for the action. Soon the enemy convoy appeared. In front walked a platoon of Portuguese soldiers with mine detectors, giving signals after about every 30 metres to the convoy behind to proceed.

Concentrating on detecting mines they did not discover our ambush, although we were just a few metres from them. When the mine detecting unit was in front of our weapons we opened fire. They were completely wiped out. Before the troops in the lorries could react, we entered the bush and disappeared. The Portuguese collected their dead soldiers and put them in the lorries and continued their trip. About one hour later they hit our mines which had earlier been placed by our sabotage unit on the same road. The front lorry was blown up; there were no survivors. Faced with the increasing number of dead and reduced car space, the Portuguese commander ordered that the dead be buried along the roadside, which was done. The enemy commander thought that after the mine there would be no more danger and ordered the convoy to advance. But he was mistaken, because our group after the first ambush, had advanced along the road and organized another ambush beyond the village of Namau. At about 5 p.m. the enemy convoy was again in front of our weapons. We destroyed two more lorries and killed many soldiers with our bazookas, machine guns and rifles. We then retreated from the scene of action and returned to our base, without having suffered any casualties, singing of our victory, the heroism of our people and deep determination to free our country from Portuguese colonialism.

O.A.U. —

The 7th Summit Conference

The 7th Organisation of African Unity Summit Conference held in Addis Ababa early in September was of particular importance because of its strong anti colonialist and anti-imperialist stand. The two main topics on the Agenda were the struggle against the white minority regimes of Southern Africa and the question of arm sales to South Africa. Important decisions were taken concerning each issue; namely to increase support to the Liberation Movements and make representations to the countries supporting Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia asking them to stop that support.

Addressing the Summit Conference on behalf of the African Liberation Movements, Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO, explained the development of the liberation struggle in the still dominated African countries, denounced the imperialist support to Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, and presented some concrete proposals concerning co-operation between the independent African countries and the Liberation Movements.

The following is the full text of the speech Comrade Marcelino dos Santos delivered to the African Heads of States and Governments.

Mr. President
Your Imperial Majesty,
Your Excellencies, the Heads of States and of Governments,
Excellencies,
Honourable Delegates,
Dear Comrades in Arms,

In the name of African peoples engaged in the battle against colonialism, imperialism and racism, for national independence, justice and liberty, we address our warm and fraternal greetings to the Honourable Delegates, the highest Representatives of the OAU Member States.

We particularly wish to address His Majesty the Emperor, to the Ethiopian Government and people, the sentiments of friendship and brotherhood of the Freedom Fighters.

We wish also to salute President Kaunda. The support Zambia accords the National Liberation Movements, the initiatives President Kaunda has undertaken on the international plane in our favour, express a militant spirit which honours us and is an example for all of us.



We therefore salute the election of President Kaunda as Chairman of this Assembly, and say to him: Mister President, when you assume the Chairmanship of the 7th Assembly of Heads of State and of Government of the OAU, we, the national liberation movements, have the feeling that we ourselves are at the Chairmanship.

Mr. President,
Your Imperial Majesty,
Your Excellencies, the Heads of State and of Government,
Honourable Delegates,
Dear Comrades in Arms,

It is for us an honour and pleasure to be able to address this assembly of the highest African leaders and together, to see the reality and the future of our struggle.

In our time armed struggle for national liberation has become one of the major events of our continent, and the liquidation of these last bastions of colonialism and racism constitutes without doubt, one of the most urgent problems.

The speeches made yesterday at the opening session by the distinguished African leaders — and which we salute with enthusiasm — confirm what we have come to say, and reinforce our conviction of the importance of our combat.

Our action, the liberation struggle in which our peoples are engaged, though taking different forms is essentially an armed struggle, the historic solution for the realisation of our aspirations to liberty.

The situation in our countries is characterised by a continuous development of guerrilla warfare, as well as the development of a political consciousness in the masses and the construction of a new life in the zones already liberated.

In Angola, in Guinea-Bissau and in Mozambique, Portuguese colonialism has suffered heavy defeats which are expressed in the extension of guerrilla warfare and the consolidation of the liberated zones, where a new life has begun to be built and where the populations are free and independent.

In South Africa, in Rhodesia and in Namibia, despite the declarations of the minority fascist and racist white governments that the situation is calm, guerrilla warfare is developing and is crumbling the Vorster and Smith regimes.

As we are addressing you, patriots are defying the fascist and racist apartheid laws, and are accused of acting to overthrow the Government of South Africa.

In the Comores and in the so-called French Somaliland, the people arose to demand independence and, proving the high level of their political consciousness, are courageously struggling against the French army of oppression.

In this way, the action undertaken by FRELIMO in Mozambique, by the MPLA in Angola, the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau, the ANC in South Africa and ZAPU in Zimbabwe, SWAPO in Namibia, MOLINACO in the Comores, and FLCS in the Somali Coast, has returned historic initiative to the people. Our struggles have attained a level and a dimension which constitute a vital contribution to the liberation of our continent.

Faced with the development of our struggles, the colonialist fascist and racist regimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia are increasing their means of repression. The army, airforce, navy, police and all the forces of repression are engaged in the struggle against the rise of nationalism in our countries.

Portugal increases each day its military strength using the most modern arms. South Africa is renewing its navy, increasing its airforce; and France continually reinforces its repressive capabilities in the Comores and in the so-called French Somaliland.

In order to maintain the system of domination and exploitation, the regimes of Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury have called upon the Western powers, and particularly the members of NATO.

In fact, it is because powers such as the United States, West Germany, France, England, Belgium, Holland, Italy, as well as Japan and Israel, have given their political, military and financial support to the regimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, that they can continue to

fight the war of oppression against our people. American planes and napalm have been used against men and crops. France is replacing the ships of the South African navy and furnishes helicopters. West Germany continues to sell planes and arms and is investing in Cahora Bassa. The Conservative British Government, after having elaborated a plan for the domination of South Africa, in which it reiterates the idea of the South Atlantic Treaty, wishes now to reinstitute the sale of arms to South Africa.

By so doing, the Western powers have attempted to safeguard their own economic interests in the region, by supporting programmes which exploit and dominate our peoples and our riches.

That is, these powers cannot conceive of the defence of their interests except within a framework of "master-slave", "exploiter-exploited" relationship.

It is this conception of the Western countries which we see put forth in Israel's imperialist and Zionist aggression against the people of Palestine and the Arab countries.

It is also this same conception which we see put forth in the American aggression against Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

All this illustrates the clear opposition of the Western powers to the liberty of the people, and we can thus conclude that, by opposing our right to independence, these powers also are opposed to the whole of Africa.

However, if the colonialist and imperialist forces are prejudiced against our peoples, it is also true that this aggression has caused an international movement of solidarity with our struggle.

Independent Africa, conscious of its interests and of its responsibilities, is on our side, and is determined to support our struggle. We have also the support of all socialist countries. Even in Western countries, the democratic and progressive forces have launched a campaign in support of our struggle. In some of these countries, such as Italy, England, the Netherlands, the movement of solidarity is already such as to force their Governments to reconsider their positions. Finally, in Asia and in Latin America, the struggling peoples express their solidarity with us.

In this context, the Rome Conference was an important and great manifestation of international solidarity for our struggle. We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the OAU for the contribution which it made to the success of the Conference, by being represented by its general secretariat, as well as the Liberation Committee.

In the same manner, we thank all the African countries who were represented or who sent messages to the Conference.

The Rome Conference was an opportunity for all progressive and democratic world forces to jointly:

- reiterate the condemnation of Portuguese colonialism as well as the Vorster and Smith regimes;
- reaffirm their unified interest in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism;
- stigmatise the complicity of the Western powers and

particularly the members of NATO, in the crimes of Portuguese colonialism;

— declare their total support to FRELIMO, MPLA and to PAIGC, the real representatives in their countries.

His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, by receiving the representatives of FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC, undeniably recognised the fact that these three movements are the legitimate representatives of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands respectively.

It is necessary to salute this international solidarity expressed in the Rome Conference as a sign of new times which open great perspectives for the successful struggle for liberation because this international solidarity is the appropriate answer to the joint action of the alliance—Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, backed by the NATO powers, as well as Japan. That is to say, against the internationalisation of the colonialist, fascist and racist aggression against our peoples, we must oppose the internationalisation of anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist action.

Mr. President,

Your Excellencies, Heads of States and of Governments,
Honourable Delegates,
Comrades in Arms,

If the perspectives of the struggle for the total liberation of our continent against the tide of foreign domination and exploitation are favourable, it still remains that we must fight a very hard and very long battle.

The difficult struggle undertaken by the African States to consolidate their independence and the struggle which our peoples are making for liberation, are today intimately associated.

By opposing themselves to nationalist movements, the colonialist and imperialist forces are attempting to put into practice their plan to transform Southern Africa into a strategic military base, not only against our peoples struggling for independence, but also against the effort for total liberation, the struggle in which the African States are involved for the consolidation of their independence. That is to say, the action against the liberation movements is only the first step in a more vast action of colonialism and imperialism aiming at blocking the efforts of the African States to consolidate Africa's independence and unity.

It is this very evident truth, today clear for everybody, that makes each African country unable to be free as long as there remain peoples under colonialist domination and exploitation on the continent.

Therefore, as Africans, we must increase our role and pace in the general combat against the last bastions of colonialism, fascism and racism, and which has become the first and most urgent task of our continent.

Our peoples are fulfilling their duty and will continue until victory.

By taking up arms, in a precise historic context such as our own, (and which we do not profess in any way to be a necessity for all), our people bring, through the force of history, a major contribution to the liberation of Africa. Despite all the difficulties and obstacles, our determination to succeed and to be free will not weaken, and the armed struggle will each day spread to new regions, bringing with it the light of liberty.

To independent Africa comes the heavy but glorious task of providing all the political, military, financial and other assistance necessary for our organisations to continue the national liberation programme which we have planned on the basis of the interests, realities and objectives of our



peoples and of our respective countries.

However, we all know that the present African effort, regardless of how precious it is to us, is not only insufficient, but it is also well below the real possibilities of African States.

We should, then, find ways to eliminate the obstacles which block from full expression the will for solidarity of the great majority of African States. First of all, we hope that the conclusions of the Committee of Seven will be able to satisfy the concerns of the African States, and will permit those states to bring their effective contribution to our struggle.

On the other hand, it is our belief that an effort must be made to find new forms of communication between the African States and the National Liberation Movements which are adapted to the present stage of our struggles and which might favour the development of our mutual understanding.

The relationship already existing between the African States and nationalist movements must undergo a change so as to permit the deepening of our co-operation. The stage of development attained by our struggles requires it. The problems which are posed in this phase of the history of the development of the national liberation struggle can no longer be studied and resolved in the absence of the representatives of the liberation movements. It is true that the knowledge that certain African countries have of our struggles, of our militants and leaders of our organisations is weak and is certainly not that which is necessary and desirable.

The petitionary status presently held by the liberation movements no longer respects the needs of the struggle nor the historic dignity of our peoples.

A dialogue must be opened. You must listen to our points of view, and we must listen to yours. We must exchange points of view, so that, together, we may find a common ground on all problems which are of particular interest to those regions of our continent where our peoples are engaged in armed struggle for liberation.

In expressing here our wish to discuss together with you the problems of our peoples, we are guided neither by undue pride nor grandeur. It is a militant spirit which

causes us to search for the best means of accomplishing our task.

For example, it is a fact that when the Military Commission began to visit the liberated regions of our countries, a substantial change in the understanding of our situation and problems took place within the OAU. Likewise, when last February, the Council of Ministers of the OAU heard the leaders of Zimbabwe, some of our African brothers were surprised by their political maturity. These examples are proof that our mutual understanding is insufficient and that we must do something about it.

By declaring the will of our peoples to occupy a place which, in the concert of African Nations, we are rightfully due today, we are only confirming our will to structure our relationship of co-operation in such a way as to permit each of us to accomplish in the most efficient and complete manner his responsibilities.

On this Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the granting of Independence the OAU must, itself, take measures which will permit the imposition upon the United Nations of the truth supported by our struggle; our liberation movements are the real representatives of our peoples.

It is by adjusting the relationship between the African States and the Liberation Movements to the needs of the present stage of our history, that we Africans will be able to utilise all our resources, and in this way, also be able to supply to the nationalist movements the necessary material so that they may each day strike stronger and more efficient blows against the colonialist, fascist and racist alliance formed by the regimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

It is also in this manner that we Africans, together with the anti-colonialist forces of other continents, can undermine the support which is given to the regimes of Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury by the Western powers and block them from engaging in a new military intervention against our peoples, aimed at covering up the political and military defeats of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

This, Excellencies, Heads of States and Governments, is what seems to us the path to victory.

LONG LIVE AFRICAN UNITY AND SOLIDARITY

LONG LIVE THE OAU

UNITED WE WILL WIN



Amílcar Cabral



Marcelino Dos Santos



Agostinho Neto



Paulo VI

CHANGE OF POLICY IN THE VATICAN?

Pope Paul VI receives leaders of the Liberation Movements of the Portuguese colonies.

On July 1st, 1970 at 12:30 p.m., Pope Paul VI received in private audience leaders of the Liberation Movements of the "Portuguese" colonies. FRELIMO was represented by Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President; PAIGC by its Secretary-General, Comrade Amílcar Cabral; and MPLA by its President, Comrade Agostinho Neto.

In principle, there is nothing strange in this audience. FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC are the organizations which truly represent the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. Many countries recognize us as such. Many heads of State, not only in Africa but in Asia, Latin America and even in Europe receive our leaders in their capacity as the only and legitimate representatives of our peoples and our countries. In principle, therefore, the audience granted by the Pope to our leaders was nothing out of the ordinary.

However, one circumstance of this act of the Pope caused multiple speculations. It is the fact that the Catholic Church has always, consistently and openly, supported Portuguese colonialism. Considering the agreement between the Holy See and Portugal, statements of high dignitaries of the Catholic Church, concrete acts of support from the Vatican to the Portuguese Government, we see that no other power has ever so unabashedly supported the colonial fascism of Portugal. The high point of this support was the visit of the Pope himself to Portugal in 1967. During that visit, the Pope made a gift of \$150,000 to the Portuguese Government to be specifically used in the "Overseas Provinces". He decorated the head of the Portuguese Gestapo (PIDE),

Major Silva Pais, and his very presence in Portuguese territory implied approval by the Catholic Church of the policy of the Portuguese Government which is fundamentally characterized by colonialism.

In this context arose the speculations regarding the Pope's action of receiving leaders of the Liberation Movements of the "Portuguese colonies". Two positions basically developed: one pretended to divest the Pope's act of all its political meaning; thus, the Pope would have been deceived by his advisers who did not inform him on the quality of the persons he was going to see; or the Pope decided to receive them as religious persons and not as politicians. Others defended the idea that the Pope received our comrades fully conscious of the fact that he was receiving leaders of the Liberation Movements of the Portuguese colonies; and that he received them in that capacity, not as religious persons; through this act the Pope wanted to indicate his condemnation of Portuguese colonialism and his recognition of the right of the people of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, and Mozambique to independence.

It is impossible to decipher the real intention of the Pope. However, an objective analysis of the facts leads us to the conclusion that at least the Pope could not deny that he was receiving leaders of the Liberation Movements: the fact that the preparations were underway for about one month and that in the request for the audience it was specifically declared that it was the leaders of FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC who were seeking an audience with

the Pope; plus the fact that at that moment a Conference of Solidarity with the peoples of the "Portuguese" colonies of international significance had just taken place in Rome in which hundreds of delegates participated. The Pope obviously knew whom he was receiving. To think otherwise would be to offend the Pope and to insinuate that he does not know what he is doing, that he does not assume his responsibility. Another proof, although more indirect, was the sabotage attempt made by a Monsignore of Portuguese nationality a few moments before the audience. He talked to our comrades in the waiting room at the Vatican and advised them not to address the Pope "because you do not know our protocol and surely you will not know exactly what to say; or if you absolutely want to speak to the Holy Father, let me serve as interpreter because he does not speak Portuguese". Our comrades replied that they will address the Pope and that they would use French which is a language that the Pope knows, and therefore they would not need an interpreter. Not giving up his sabotage attempt the Monsignore then said: "Well then, in order to save you from a blunder, you must look at me during the audience; when you say something which must not be said, I will give you a sign for you to stop."

But if it is so, if the Pope voluntarily and intentionally received our comrades, having to overcome the opposition of some of his staff, knowing that the visitors were leaders of Liberation Movements fighting against Portuguese colonialism, what then was the significance of his gesture? We are inclined to think that it was a political gesture of condemnation of Portuguese colonialism, and recognition of the right of our peoples to independence. Despite the fact that "Osservatore Romano", the official organ of the Vatican, tried to minimize the importance of the audience, certain other facts suggest that very political intention of the Pope:

(a) Radio Vatican itself declared, commenting on the meeting, that "the pacification—or the liberation through arms according to the sides on which we find ourselves—is a source of misery and death as any other form of war. May Angola, Guinea and Mozambique know *peace in justice*. The problem is posed again to the Christian conscience". Radio Vatican stressed further that (1) the audience with leaders of the three most important movements fighting against the Portuguese authorities in Africa was possible only because the Pope agreed to such an audience. (2) Delegates of the Decolonization Committee

of the United Nations as well as delegates of innumerable countries participated with the three leaders in the Anti-Colonialist Conference which had taken place in Rome a week before (Radio, press and TV gave enormous coverage of the Conference). (3) The position of the Church concerning the independence of the new nations is constant and well known, expressed in the documents of the Council, in the encyclicals and the addresses of Pope Paul VI.

(d) The Sunday following the recall of the Portuguese Ambassador to the Vatican by Lisbon, the Pope, addressing the people in St. Peter's Square, said: "How can one close his eyes on what is going on in the world, on what is weighing on our society, on the equilibrium necessary to progress and peace? Grave thoughts are mixed with good hopes: for both of them we cannot neglect the help of God." On that day, the Pope was acclaimed with particular warmth by the thousands of pilgrims among whom were many Africans.

(c) The tone of the Portuguese protest itself may help us also to find out the real intentions of the Pope. Words like "deep wound" and "terrible insult" are used to qualify the act of the Pope or its consequences. And the Pope was surely conscious of this reaction when he behaved as he did against his traditional ally.

(d) The words addressed to our comrades by the Pope are conclusive, too. He declared that "the Catholic Church is concerned with all those who are suffering, particularly the African peoples, and that *she supports the struggle for justice, for freedom and national independence*." When our comrades told him of the massacres that the Portuguese carry out against the people, the Holy Father answered shocked: "I will pray for you!" Obviously only a deliberate misinterpretation might claim that these words of the Pope referred only to the three persons in front of him and not to the peoples and to the cause they represented.

All in all, we are led to believe that the Vatican's position of support for Portuguese colonialism is now experiencing the influence of the evolution of the times. It was in this light that FRELIMO interpreted the gesture of the Pope, using it as an instrument to mobilize our people:

"... therefore, Comrades, let us continue and intensify the struggle, being certain that our struggle causes even those traditional allies of Portugal, such as the Holy See, to initiate changes in their position and to condemn the Portuguese colonialist policy. The struggle continues!"

"... We know of no instance during the last forty years when the Roman Catholic Church of Portugal felt compelled to protest officially against the many savage acts of the Portuguese Government against the African people. On the contrary, the highest officials of the Church have tended to come out in support of government policy and conduct."

"The Struggle for Mozambique"
EDUARDO MONDLANE

BRITAIN - DEFENDING THE FREEDOM TO EXPLOIT

The events following the establishment of a Conservative Government in Britain serve to highlight the political role played in the West by small but influential minorities. A decision to sell arms to South Africa is being taken in the face of very widespread opposition and seems particularly strange in the light of a recent suggestion that South Africa is, any case, not in a position to place lucrative orders with British arms companies. The government itself is now showing some signs of uneasiness on this issue, but is clearly under heavy pressure from a right-wing interest group which has engaged in a long campaign not only aimed at forging closer links between Britain and South Africa but also designed to lead Britain into an active alliance with Portugal in Africa.

There has always been considerable behind-the-scenes pressure from a section of the British business community interested in the continuation of Portuguese rule in Africa. For a while the number of British firms at present involved in the Portuguese colonies is relatively small. Many more have considerable interests in metropolitan Portugal, interests which are closely tied with the present Lisbon regime. An indication of the strength of these pro-Portuguese interests is the amount of official support and encouragement they enjoyed even under the previous Labour government. In April the Iberian Section of the London Chamber of Commerce paid a visit to Portugal and in June a meeting was held where the London Chamber of Commerce, the British National Export Council for Europe, and the Exhibitions Department of the Board of Trade specifically "considered U.K. trade promotions both to Portugal and the Overseas Provinces". (Financial Times, 16.6.70).

The pressure exerted by business is indirect and operates outside the arena of public debate. But there has also been an open political campaign with a long history behind it. For years a pro-Portuguese pressure group spearheaded by two conservative M.P.s, John Biggs-Davison and Patrick Wall, has been working hard to whitewash the racist colonial government of the "Portuguese" territories and to misrepresent the aim and achievements of the liberation movements. Both M.P.s have consistent record as friends of reaction: virulently anti-Egyptian at the time of Suez, active supporters of Tshombe during the attempted secession of Katanga, outspoken opponents of sanctions against Rhodesia. But their association with Portugal appears to be especially close and their pronouncements have shown a

conspicuous sensitivity to shifts in Portuguese policy; when Portugal was still trying to deny the presence of Liberation Movements in their territories, Biggs-Davison visited Bissau at the invitation of the Portuguese and wrote a series of articles denying that there was any serious fighting in Guinea; now that the Portuguese are making ill-concealed appeals for help, he has also changed his tune and concentrates on trying to paint the liberation movements as mere pawns in a general anti-Western plot to dominate the South Atlantic. It is also significant that Biggs-Davison's book "Nailing a Lie", a long apologia for Portuguese colonialism, was published by a subsidiary of the E.D. O'Brien organization, the public relations firm employed by the Portuguese government in Britain.

The extent to which this group has been able to influence Conservative Party policy is shown in the content of a paper on defence prepared for the 1970 Congress and widely "leaked" to the press last April. The paper is not an official Party document but the working group responsible for it, the conservative Commonwealth Overseas Council, is affiliated to the Conservative Party and is serviced by the Conservative Overseas Bureau which is itself a department of the Party.

The paper, "Overseas Issue facing the next Conservative Government: Defence outside NATO", has a long section devoted to Southern Africa in which considerable prominence is given to the role of Portugal. The general aim seems to be to create a scare about the Cape route and to link this with the struggle for independence in the colonies. Under the heading "What form would threats to British interests take?" the suggestion is made that "the threat to security might take the form of isolated warfare possibly through direct communist inspired and assisted aggression against e.g. Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Rhodesia, South Africa. The precise aims are listed under a section called "Action required and proposed", which includes, predictably, closer relations with South Africa, resumption of arms sales to South Africa and an end of sanctions against Rhodesia. The last two sections of this deal directly with Portugal and by implication with the Portuguese areas, and propose that:

"There should be a friendly re-examination with Portugal of ways and means of utilising the Anglo-Portuguese alliance to establish mutually valid and workable defence arrangements in the Southern Atlantic. It is pertinent in this con-

text to think of naval port facilities at Beira (Mozambique) and Lobito (Angola) and Cape Verde.

"If the NATO area of commitment cannot be extended to this vital supply route transporting by far the greatest part of the NATO strategic oil requirements, then on both political and strategic grounds a case might be made for a regional pact for the defence of Southern Africa and the Cape route. Participants might be the U.K., South Africa, the Argentine, and Brazil."

The haste with which the new British government has put into effect the proposals dealing with South Africa make it quite clear that the leaders of the Conservative Party are fundamentally in agreement with the paper — the Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, was present during its preparation. Quite how far they will dare to go in practice in taking Britain into the formal reactionary alliances proposed, will depend in part how far they can influence the press and through it public opinion. In this respect the authors of the paper can claim at least a partial triumph. For although the British press has generally taken a hostile line on the specific question of the arms sales, there has been widespread acceptance of general attitudes that Mr. Biggs-Davison and his associates are trying to disseminate. The liberal daily, "The Guardian", sums up the debate: "A recurring conclusion is that with the Russians already establishing a certain support with the Africans, a decision by Britain to sell arms to South Africa can only be to their advantage" (23.7.1970). This argument accepts the implicit assumption of those who envisage Southern Africa as an area whose fate is to be decided by the Great Powers. It is a measure of the strength of the reactionary forces in Britain that these ideas should gain such general currency in the face of the first hand evidence of those Western journalists who have actually visited us in our own countries: the Dutch television team, for instance, who recently shot a film in Mozambique;

the British writer Basil Davidson who has just made a 300 mile trek with MPLA in Angola.

The "Big Power" argument has successfully obscured the real nature of British involvement and the motives of the clique who are pressing for an even deeper commitment. National Defence and the interests of Britain are not the only concern of the pro-Portugal, pro-South Africa lobby. The interests are those of the international capitalist class to which they belong.

The aim of our war is to end exploitation and a victory for FRELIMO will certainly mean that powers will no longer be allowed to exploit the resources and the people of Mozambique. It will mean an end to schemes like the present Cahora Bassa imperialist project. Arguments such as the security of Britain and British trade are therefore only a cover to give an appearance of legitimacy to their real aim: the preservation of the freedom to exploit.

The forces behind the recent document are a powerful influence on policy formation under any British government but the degree of their effectiveness varies. The Labour Party in office refused to make any positive commitment to the progressive forces in Africa but, in order to satisfy some of its supporters, tried to avoid being seen as a direct ally of colonialism and apartheid. The Conservative Party, on the other hand, gains most of its support from sections of the community who are fundamentally in sympathy with the white regimes. It therefore seems likely that Britain may now drop all pretensions to supporting freedom in Africa and take the lead among Western nations in openly aligning herself with Portugal and South Africa. If this happens, the liberal press in Britain may gloss over the reason for it and quibble about "tactics of defence", but we shall be clear as to its meaning.





